1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

side of the Taigonos Peninsula, who wander with their herds near the Russian villages or near the main trail, and are often visited by Russians on their dog-sledges — send out in summer several members of their families to prepare a supply of sun-dried fish for winter use, and for food for their guests and for their dogs, that they may not have to kill too many reindeer for this purpose. A whole small reindeer suffices for but a single feeding of a team of ten or twelve dogs.

Generally speaking, the Reindeer Koryak are very fond of eating dried dog-salmon and "sea-morsels," (i. e., the meat and blubber of sea-mammals). They seek every opportunity to satisfy this craving, which is possibly a survival from a period when the present nomadic reindeer-breeders were still maritime hunters. As soon as the snow is in good condition for driving, the Reindeer Koryak begin to appear on sledges in the villages of the Maritime Koryak to obtain "sea-food," and barter entire carcasses of frozen seal, oil, dog-salmon, and skin of the white whale. Each Reindeer Koryak has among the Maritime people a friend who supplies him with sea-food, and who, in his turn, later on visits the nomad camp of the Reindeer Koryak to get reindeer-meat.

With all the craving of the Reindeer Koryak for the "sea-morsels," they dislike subsisting long on sea-food. Thus a wealthy Taigonos reindeer-breeder told me that his sons had lived too long on the coast; subsisting on fish and seal alone, and had become completely worn out. He then went to his herd and killed a reindeer for them, that they might regain their strength. On the other hand, the Maritime Koryak like to obtain reindeer meat and fat, even when they have plenty of fish; while in winter, when fishing is poor, they often visit the nomad camp of the Reindeer Koryak either to buy reindeer-meat or to obtain it by begging.

In describing bird-hunting,[1] I mentioned that its economic importance is slight. The Koryak do not like sea-gulls, and consider them tasteless; but when food is scarce, they do not disdain them. Early in summer, previous to the fishing-season, the Maritime Koryak eat all kinds of sea-fowl; but when fishing and sealing begin, bird-hunting ceases. The Koryak are very fond of birds' eggs. During the nesting-season they undertake expeditions to the islands in skin boats to gather eggs, which are collected by hundreds and eaten boiled right after they have been gathered, or on the following days. They do not discriminate between new-laid and rotten eggs. Once I was present when some Koryak were eating boiled eggs which were so decomposed that a strong odor was noticeable a long way off. In many eggs there were already half-hatched birds, but this did not in the least prevent the Koryak from relishing their food.

[1] See p. 557.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

Like certain other vegetable poisons, as opium and hasheesh, the alkaloid of fly-agaric produces intoxication, hallucinations, and delirium. Light forms of intoxication are accompanied by a certain degree of animation and some spontaneity of movements. Many shamans, previous to their seances, eat fly-agaric in order to get into ecstatic states. Once I asked a Reindeer Koryak, who was reputed to be an excellent singer, to sing into the phonograph. Several times he attempted, but without success. He evidently grew timid before the invisible recorder; but after eating two fungi, he began to sing in a loud voice, gesticulating with his hands. I had to support him, lest he fall on the machine; and when the cylinder came to an end, I had to tear him away from the horn, where he remained bending over it for a long time, keeping up his songs.

Under strong intoxication, the senses become deranged; surrounding objects appear either very large or very small, hallucinations set in, spontaneous movements, and convulsions. So far as I could observe, attacks of great animation alternate with moments of deep depression. The person intoxicated by fly-agaric sits quietly rocking from side to side, even taking part in the conversation with his family. Suddenly his eyes dilate, he begins to gesticulate convulsively, converses with persons whom he imagines he sees, sings, and dances. Then an interval of rest sets in again.

However, to keep up the intoxication, additional doses of fungi are necessary. Finally a deep slumber results, which is followed by headache, sensations of nausea, and an impulse to repeat the intoxication. If there is a further supply of fungi, they are eaten. At the beginning of winter, when the supply is still large, old men begin their carousals. In Kuel there are two elders of the Paren clans,[1] and during my sojourn in that village I was sometimes unable to hold conversation with either of them for days at a time. They were either intoxicated by the fungi or in a bad mood from the after-effects. At the same season the Reindeer Koryak resort to the coast settlements to purchase and eat fly-agaric. To regale a guest with fly-agaric is a sign of special regard. Dr. Slunin says a small glass of brandy or diluted alcohol serves as a splendid antidote in cases of fly-agaric poisoning.[2]

There is reason to think that the effect of fly-agaric would be stronger were not its alkaloid quickly taken out of the organism with the urine. The Koryak know this by experience, and the urine of persons intoxicated with fly-agaric is not wasted. The drunkard himself drinks it to prolong his hallucinations, or he offers it to others as a treat. According to the Koryak, the urine of one intoxicated by fly-agaric has an intoxicating effect like the fungus, though not to so great a degree. I remember how, in the village of Paren, a company of fly-agaric eaters used a can in which California fruit had been put up, as a beaker, into which the urine was passed, to be drunk

[1] See p. 437. [2] Slunin, I, p. 654.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RYY Koryak RYY

572 We find another manifestation of social tendencies in the still surviving custom of making friends and fraternizing with members of an unrelated family. No formal rites accompany the formation of such friendships; at least, not at the present time; on the suggestion of the visitor or of the host, the two simply decide to be friends. It is customary among the Koryak to give some present to a man who enters the house for the first time. This is evidently the first step towards gaining the friendship or good-will of the stranger. In ancient times such friendships imposed on the members of a fraternity the duty of mutual protection against enemies; at present, however, their obligations are limited to mutual material support. In principle, this support must be regarded as an exchange on credit. It appears as if friends did not count favors, yet one or the other of them was always considered in
572 debt. Friendships are concluded among the Maritime as well as among the
437 Reindeer Koryak; but the friendships of the Reindeer Koryak on the one
574 hand, and of the Maritime Koryak on the other, are of greater significance. Without a fixed system of exchange, these two sections of the people could not exist. The Reindeer Koryak needs seal-skin thongs and entire skins of sea-animals; he also wants seal-blubber, and enjoys an occasional meal of sea-animals and fishes. The Maritime Koryak, on the other hand, needs reindeer-meat for food, and particularly reindeer-skin for clothing. With the first snowfall, in October or November, communication between the two groups is established. Parties of Reindeer Koryak at once start out for the settlements of their friends on the coast, who, in their turn, visit the Reindeer Koryak during the winter months. Generally the host asks his newly arrived friend what he needs, and informs him of the extent of his own possessions and the amount laid aside for barter. The host, on such occasions, frequently understates the amount in store. The visitor will often ask for any object in the house or storeroom of his friend which happens to strike his fancy, and he seldom meets with refusal.

The Koryak, in general, are afraid to disregard the wishes of any man, for refusal might arouse his anger or displeasure; and the ill-will of a man, whether shaman or not, may result in misfortune. The visitor, on his part, tries to be moderate in his demands; for if the host fulfils them reluctantly, and conceives an ill-feeling against his visitor, the object received will not bring any luck. However, in spite of all this, inequitable exchanges of services between friends do occasionally result in displeasure or misunderstanding.

Friendships are also formed between women, who then call each other ña'ul. In exchanging goods, the Maritime Koryak women provide chiefly embroidered and other ornamented parts for clothes, bags of seal-skin, grass baskets, and decorated boots; while the Reindeer Koryak women contribute sinew-thread, reindeer-skins, and clothes.

The Koryak extend their friendship also to the Russians, whose presents

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 R94 Koryak R94

The Koryak extend their friendship also to the Russians, whose presents [609]
generally consist of tea, tobacco, baked bread, biscuits, flour, and other 592
imported articles. 574

A Koryak, on his arrival in a settlement or camp, makes his headquarters in the house or tent of a friend, and while there partakes of the meals as 437
a member of the family. The lads feed his dogs or guard his reindeer. Among the Maritime Koryak a place is reserved for his bed on the platform in the front part of the subterranean house, while among the Reindeer Koryak he passes the night in the host's own sleeping-tent or in a separate sleeping-tent. In ancient times the "friends" were met with fire from the hearth, obviously in demonstration of the amicable feelings of the hearth as the family protector, and of the host. At the present time, these friends, as all [576]
other visitors, are met with the greeting "Eh, ye'ti!" which means simply "Ah, thou hast come!" to which the visitor answers, "Ye'ti."

Clearly, the fraternities as a social institution have a utilitarian basis; 761
but we also find certain manifestations of a social feeling of altruistic character. Thus the announcement of the death of a member of the family, made by the relatives to all the inhabitants of the settlement or of the surrounding camps, is obviously intended as a warning of the danger from evil spirits, which caused the death. The neighbors thus informed at once take protective measures.[1]

As a rule, material support is offered by the more prosperous only to 476
relatives. In times of famine, however, the provisions are divided indiscriminately among all the inhabitants of the settlement who are in need. 731

If we disregard for a moment the influence of the Russians on the social 174
life of the Koryak, it can, I think, be asserted that the independent development of social forms among the Maritime Koryak could hardly have reached 565
the stage at which the nobility and the common people would appear as two 558
sharply defined hereditary classes. The brave warrior and the clever hunter, who, as a rule, ranked above the masses as protectors and providers of the group, lost their influential positions during famines in years when huntin and fishing had been unsuccessful. Not so with the Reindeer Koryak.

The concentration of fortunes in the form of large herds in the hands 174
of single individuals, and the perpetuation of these fortunes through inheri- 565
tance, might have furthered social differentiation, and led to the formation of 556
aristocratic families. In ancient times the possessor of a large herd had to be not merely a good shepherd, but a warrior well able to protect his herds against the attacks of enemies. Around him as a natural protector would cluster, first of all, groups of relatives, but also neighbors (na'mtumgin, "neighbor in camp") possessing but small herds or no herds at all. These people would become herdsmen subordinate in position, while it devolved on

[1] See Part I, p. 104.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

524 "These are not children," she answers, "but sacks filled with moss." — "Let it be moss," replies Ka'la, and grabs the hindmost child. He does the same with all the other children; but when he gets to the mother, she kills him and takes back all her children. The designation of children as "sacks filled with moss" recalls an episode of the Koryak-Eskimo tales, where the people save themselves from a cannibal through flight, leaving in their stead clothes stuffed with moss.[1]

In the "marmot game" the participants join hands and form a circle; while two individuals represent a dog pursuing a marmot, which keeps on leaving and entering the circle.

526 A very common game, or rather physical exercise, is that of running around a circle. In the villages of the Maritime as well as in the camps of the Reindeer Koryak, when the day's work is done, and before supper is served, youths may be seen running around in a circle, while the old people sit on the snow not far away from the players. From the running, a firm circle is trodden down in the snow. The evening games are discontinued with the approach of spring, when frosts no longer occur.

Besides racing, various kinds of contests are arranged. Before a fight the young men strip themselves to the belt and rub their bodies with snow. Various forms of combats are represented in the carvings in Figs. 166 and 167 (pp. 650, 651). Among the Reindeer Koryak a common form of contest is jumping over a reindeer. Ball-playing is as popular with the Koryak as it is with the [574] Chukchee.[2] In olden times the Koryak, like the Eskimo, used to have a 524 ball-game with strangers before entertaining them.[3] Small children play with 857 dolls, represented in Figs. 186 and 187 (pp. 669, 670); also with animals carved of wood or bone, and toy vessels, drums, and tents. The older children play dog and reindeer driving. Some put on the harness, others sit on the sledge (Plate xxxix). Children have races and contests similar to those of adults.

A favorite game of boys of the Reindeer Koryak is the following. A long thong is fastened to an inclined pole sticking out of the snow. To the lower end of the thong a piece of wood or a bone is attached. The thong is swung to and fro, and the players try to lasso the stone. Thus the boys acquire practice in the skilful handling of the lasso, presently to be used in catching running reindeer (see Plate xxi, Fig. 2). Of similar character are the target-shooting contests of the boys, in which toy boys are used. An old mitten suspended on a stick in the snow serves as a target.

Among other toys, the spinning-top must be mentioned. There is also a kind of cup-and-ball game called oxxa'ltin, in which a hollow piece of wood is thrown up and caught on a peg provided with a cross-piece. The Chukchee have a somewhat similar game called o'kkal.[4]

[1] See Part I, pp. 181, 212, 331, 364, 365.
[2] See Part I, pp. 129, 163.
[3] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 271.
[4] Ibid., p. 272.

11: Kennan--219 T-3 (1865) 1870 Koryak
116, 157, 574, 577 Reindeer

"The natural disposition of the Wandering Koraks is thoroughly good. They treat their women and children with great kindness; and during all my intercourse with them, extending over two years, I never saw a woman or child struck. Their honesty is remarkable. Frequently they would harness up a team of reindeer after we had left their tents in the morning, and overtake us at a distance of five or ten miles, with a knife, a pipe, or some such trifle which we had overlooked and forgotten in the hurry of departure. Our sledges, loaded with tobacco, beads, and trading goods of all kinds, were left unguarded outside their tents; but never, so far as we knew, was a single article stolen. We were treated by many bands with as much kindness and generous hospitality as I ever experienced in a civilized country and among Christian people; and if I had no money or friends, I would appeal to a band of Wandering Koraks for help with much more confidence than I would ask the same favor of many an American family. Cruel and barbarous they may be, according to our ideas of cruelty and barbarity; but they have never been known to commit an act of treachery, and I would trust my life as unreservedly in their hands as I would in the hands of any other uncivilized people whom I have ever known."

23: Krasheninnikov N-3 (1736-40) 1764 Koryak

231 264 342 Their huts are made much in the ſame manner as thoſe of other wandering people, but leſs than thoſe of the *Calmucks*. In the winter they cover them with raw deer-ſkins, and in the ſummer with tanned. They have no flooring or ſeparation within their huts; in the middle only are four little ſtakes driven, between which is their hearth. To theſe ſtakes they commonly tie their dogs, which frequently drag the victuals out of the kettles while it is dreſſing; and notwithſtanding their maſters beat them very ſeverely, they generally come in for a ſhare of every piece. A man muſt be very hungry to be able to eat with theſe people. Inſtead of waſhing their kettles or platters they give them to the dogs to lick, and the very fleſh which they tear from the mouths of the dogs they throw again into the kettles without waſhing it.

171 342 The *Tchukotſkoi* winter huts are much preferable to thoſe of the *Koreki*, being much warmer and more roomy. Several families live in the ſame hut, all having their proper benches, upon which deer-ſkins are ſpread, whereon they ſit or ſleep. Upon each bench a lamp burns day and night, for which they uſe fiſh-oil and a wick of moſs. They have an opening in the top, which ſerves for a chimney; however they are almoſt as ſmoaky as thoſe of the *Koreki*, but ſo warm, that in the coldeſt places the women ſit naked. The cloaths which they wear are made of rein-deer ſkins, not differing in the leaſt from thoſe of the *Kamtſchadales*, who purchaſe them from the *Koreki*. They feed upon the fleſh of the rein-deer, in which they very much abound, ſome of the rich having ten or twenty thouſand; nay, one of the chiefs was ſaid to have one hundred thouſand: but yet they are ſo penurious, that they are ſorry to kill any for their own uſe, ſatisfying themſelves with ſuch as die naturally, or are killed by the wolves. Of this carrion, indeed, they have plenty; and they are not aſhamed to excuſe themſelves from entertaining travellers by telling them that none of their deer

171 291 233 556 262 574

deer are killed or have died lately

23: Krasheninnikov N-3 (1736-40) 1764 Koryak

deer are killed or have died lately. For particular gueſts, indeed, they will kill ſome of their ſtock, and at ſuch times only they have a hearty meal. They never milk the rein-deer, nor know any uſe of milk. They eat their fleſh for the moſt part boiled, and what they do not conſume immediately they dry with the ſmoke in their huts. One of their principal diſhes is called *yamgaya*, which is made thus; they put the blood of the beaſt mixed with ſome fat into its ſtomach or paunch, which they hang up and ſmoke. Our Coſſacks reckon this a great delicacy. Beſides, the *Koreki* eat every other animal except dogs and foxes. They uſe, in general, neither herbs, roots, nor barks of trees; but the poor feed on them in time of great ſcarcity; nor will any catch fiſh, except the deer-herds, and that very ſeldom. They make no proviſion of berries for the winter, but only eat them freſh in the ſummer. They think nothing can be ſweeter than cranberries beat up with the root ſaran and deer's fat. I had an opportunity of ſeeing one of their chieftains exceedingly ſurpriſed upon the firſt ſight of ſugar, which he took for ſalt; but taſting it was ſo pleaſed with its ſweetneſs, that he begged ſome pieces to carry to his wives: but, as he was not able to reſiſt the temptation of ſo delicious a rarity, he ate it all up on the road; and when he came home to his houſe, although he ſwore to the women that he had taſted ſalt ſweeter than any thing he had ever taſted before, yet they would not believe him, inſiſting that nothing could be ſweeter than cranberries with deer's fat and lilly-roots.

They ride only in the winter time on ſledges drawn by rein-deer, but never mount upon their backs in the ſummer, as they ſay the *Tunguſi* do. Their ſledges are made about a fathom long: the ſides are about four inches thick, but rather thinner at the fore part, where they are bent upwards: the two ſide-pieces are joined together by ſmall pieces of wood. They yoke two

23: Krasheninnikov N-3 (1736-40) 1764 Koryak

times to ſet little rods round their huts. When they kill a dog, one perſon holds it by the head, another by the tail, and a third ſtabs it in the ſide; when it is dead they ſtick it upon a ſtake, turning its face towards the neareſt burning mountain.

Their civil policy is as rude as their religious; they know nothing of dividing the year into months; they have names indeed for the four ſeaſons. They have only names for the four cardinal winds. Of the conſtellations they know the Great Bear, which they call, in their language, the wild rein-deer; the Pleiades they name the duck's neſt; and the Milky Way the ſcattered river.

The diſtance of places they reckon by their day's journey, which is between 30 and 50 verſts.

Before they were ſubject to the Empire of *Ruſſia* they never had any government or chief magiſtrate among them, only thoſe that were rich had ſome ſort of authority over the poor; nor before that did they know any thing of an oath. At preſent, inſtead of ſwearing upon the croſs or goſpel, our Coſſacks oblige them to hold a muſquet by the barrel, threatening, that whoever does not obſerve this oath will certainly be ſhot by a ball. This they are ſo much afraid of, that rather than clear themſelves by this oath, if guilty, they will confeſs their crime.

They are quite ignorant of all good manners, not only in common compliments, but in receiving ſtrangers, whom they treat with an air of ſuperiority. When they entertain their gueſts they don't oblige them to over-eat themſelves, as the *Kamtſchadales* do, but give them what they have in ſufficient plenty; their beſt victuals is fat meat, and all theſe barbarous nations are exceſſively fond of fat. The *Jakutſki* would loſe an eye for a piece of fat horſe fleſh, and the *Tchukotſkoi* for a fat dog. The *Jakutſki* know that the ſtealing of any cattle is puniſhed with the loſs of all their goods; yet, if they have an opportunity, they can't reſtrain themſelves from ſtealing a fat horſe, comforting themſelves amidſt